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While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporised sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamaṣight* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

● 776

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afarit* and the *shaiyatin*. This class also includes the *ṯajinnisḥth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

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the path or in the wilderness at night and seduces them. She usually leads them to a room beneath a stream, entered by a staircase running down through the water. Before allowing the man she has seduced to depart she exacts from him a promise never to reveal the place where her chamber is hidden. A man who breaks his promise will die as soon as the words have left his mouth.

The *jnun* which disturb the Riffians most are those which take the forms of dogs or jackals. Dogs with light eyes are believed to be *jnun*, and fierce jackals, transformed *jnun*, are said to guard treasure hidden in the bottoms of caves. Doors and shutters are closed at night to prevent *jnun* from entering and possessing the occupants. Hydrophobia is thought to indicate the entrance of a *jinni* into a man's body.

3. *er khier*, a ghost. Ghosts are said to be very tall and thin, and to travel about at night, especially in the neighborhood of cemeteries. They are sometimes able to strike at men with tongues of fire, and can appear and disappear at will.

4. *thasardunth imkran*, a she-mule, decked with bells. It comes out of cemeteries at night and eats people.

5. *er riah*, a hot whirlwind which comes in summer, and is supposed to be a baleful supernatural being.

6. *thamza*, or *sfuf*, an ogress. She is described as an ugly woman with long trailing breasts that touch the ground and squirt milk as she walks, long slobbering lips, and long, tangled, curly hair. She is able to change her form and appear as an enticing damsel, luring people to her house in order to eat them, and takes great delight in crunching and gnawing on human bones. This ogress lives in a house on a deserted part of a mountain.

7. *amziw* is the husband or male sex of the *thamza*. He resembles her in the configuration of his lips and in the form and condition of his hair. The *amziw* is also able to change his form and appear as a normal man, sometimes as an old man, and sometimes as a Negro. The *amziw* carries on the same means of livelihood as his wife, luring people to his house and eating them. The *amziw* is less frequently referred to in Riffian folklore than the *thamza*, and is apparently considered less common and less dangerous.

8. *bu seba ijjithen*, the Father of Seven Heads, is a creature large as a mule, possessing seven human heads. Its hind legs are those of an animal, and its front legs terminate in human hands. When travelling about the animal runs on all fours, but when in proximity to human beings rises on its hind legs and attacks its victims with its hands. From the nostrils and mouths of its seven heads it breathes fire. It eats its victims in the wilderness where it finds them, since it has no dwelling, wandering about and sleeping in deserted country. There is no mention of sex as applied to the *bu seba ijjithen*, wherefore one is led to conclude that it is either masculine or asexual. The *thamza*, *amziw*, and *bu seba ijjithen* are said to have been mortal, and to be long extinct.

9. *hajuj u majuj*, dwarfs, or gnomes. They live in subterranean caverns without exits to the surface. These creatures are as small as two-year-old children, bandy-legged, pigeon-toed, long-bearded, neckless, and bearing their heads directly on their shoulders. They are hunch-backed and wrinkled, and present every sign of senility, even while in infancy. They all go naked. Each day the dwarfs dig a passage upwards, with the intention of breaking through the earth's crust, issuing forth, destroying mankind, and taking possession of the earth. Each evening, however, they become tired, and say, "It is night now, and we are tired, let us go back to the center of the earth and sleep; there is not much work left

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●776 for us to do; tomorrow we will finish the hole and get out." Each morning, however, when they go back to work, they find the hole which they made on the previous day filled with earth, and have to commence their work over again. The reason that their hole is filled each night is that in declaring that they will emerge the next day they neglect to say "*In sha'a Allah*," or "If God wills it." If once they should hit upon the idea of saying *in sha'a Allah*, the next day they would succeed in breaking out and would overrun the earth.

There is another legend concerning the dwarfs, which gives them quite a different interpretation. It says that far to the East where the sun rises is a land bounded on the west by an iron wall. On the east side of the wall live the *hajuj u majuj*, described as above, who are more numerous than mankind. If they should ever break down the wall they would overrun the earth. Both legends state definitely that their release would cause the extinction of mankind. The first version implies a gnome-like type of creature, and the second seems to take its inspiration from China. I heard the first in the Gaennaya and the second in Beni Bu Nsar.

Although these supernatural creatures are used mainly as subjects of folklore told to children by their mothers, they are nevertheless believed in by the adults, apparently without exception.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

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778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

●776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each
178 other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall
[681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

178 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with
[754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

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821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

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233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

●776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 514 753 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic, zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 372 513 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheiha], almssi [Ait Sadden], tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 372 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water[1] since
●776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q:lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [309] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsistencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

[315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

[324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person, attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 755 789 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 781 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous: when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him.

[398] A jenniya of the same type is Sbuha, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Ait Waryager. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal—a mule or donkey or bitch—or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her go mad. I have also heard of her at Tangier.

The Gola is the Gule or Gul mentioned in old Arabic literature and Arabic tales as the name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying "to destroy", perhaps originally "to assault". She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; thus she appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the role of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the roadside. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with [399] long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.

[404] Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon who lives in cemeteries. The Ait Waryager maintain that [405] every cemetery has a dajennit, or jenniya, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called dasardund, or "mule". She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death.

[406] The most famous of all jnun is Sitan (s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Seitan; I shall use the form Sitan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblis, Yeblis), that is, Satan or the devil, who is [407] regarded as the chief of the evil jnun—the sayatin or ibales.

776 Sitan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes, hence he has gained the epithet abribas, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Siyidna Idris, the prophet, who was a tailor. Sitan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Siyidna Idris was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Sitan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Sitan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many sayatin in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Sitan has a wife by name Sitanah (s-Sitana, s-Seitana) or Sa dana.

Sitan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramadan, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Sitan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their [408] mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong. If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Sitan in him, fih s-sitan, or that he is himself Sitan; and bad people are called sayatin. They are even worse than Sitan: — S-sitan men j-jenn ula s-sitan men bnadem, or, L-wuswas ("the tempter") men l-jenn wala men bnadem.

776 787 Sitan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Sitan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiadma, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder), because Sitan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier).

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain 789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks 224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

● 776 754 501 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

[242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in
251 subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread
778 being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

●776 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or
778 earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid
[783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176] [178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

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[776]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, satisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[776] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [755] [782] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arrich irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

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771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
• 776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
776 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
[778] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
[554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
● 776 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
575 abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[993] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

7: Mikese'' K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[4]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[5] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[6] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[4] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[6] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: [illegible]ractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.